absence of investigation, the function of village tattooing in this area is not precisely known, but it appears that it has no tribal or territorial significance, and is either decorative, magical, or both. 304

The toilet of children does not differ greatly from that of adults, and girls of wealthier homes use cosmetics in imitation of their mothers, just as the older boys remain unshaven in hopes of growing a moustache. For six months after birth, the nails of a baby must not be cut, and an infant's hair is trimmed for the first time at about the age of one year. At four or five the boys are circumcised, but the accompanying ceremony, as well as the operation itself, will be found described in a later section. The ear lobes of the girls can be pierced at any time in their early years, but cutting a nostril for the khizam or nose-ring is only to be seen in the villages. 302 [854] 304 [852] [184]

The jewelry of women, of gold and silver, has an important economic function in daily life, for it is a repository of surplus capital, just like real estate, and provides insurance against poverty in the event of some disaster, additionally assuring the woman herself of some wealth if divorced or widowed. It is gathered in part from the bridal dowry and in part as gifts from her husband. If, for example, the dowry of a maiden is set at fifty dinars ($140.00), and this sum is matched by her father, making a total of a hundred dinars ($280.00), only a part is needed for dresses and household goods, 301 [454] 583 301

or marriage, have their focus in that place, rather than in the town. It is interesting that this class, which regards itself as "modern" and "progressive," should reinforce things held to be reactionary by some of the townspeople, specifically the absolute segregation of women. Even a radically-minded official would not dare to let his wife have the same freedom in the town she can enjoy in Baghdad or some other city. The townspeople often commented on the peculiar behavior of the medical officer who kept his wife in the greatest seclusion, although those who had caught a glimpse of her said she was no particular beauty. This segregation on the part of the officials and officers has an automatic effect on the townspeople of greater wealth who do the same to their own wives and daughters where otherwise they might have permitted them greater liberty.

The primary task of this section has been to present an analysis of the family life of the average townsman, and it is important to notice that the family does not seem to constitute an important area of change in the transformation of the culture. Ra'uf Effendi, like so many elders, remarked that the society of the town had changed for the worse from Ottoman days, but, on going over all of the affairs of the family, he was only able to conclude that "youth had greater respect for age" fifty years ago. In spite of this observation, the family in Rowandus is still a distinctly patriarchal organization and its members are

Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowandus

ound to it by strong ties. In contrast, in the families 593
f the government elite, not those of the town, but others
ncountered in different areas of Iraq, the larger family
an break down, sons rebelling against their fathers and
isassociating themselves from their relatives. It is in [762]
he official class, rather than among groups such as the [733]
ommoners or aristocrats of Rowandus, that alcoholism and [565]
uicide is found.

It has not been thought necessary to compare the 593
family life of Rowandus at every point with that of other 171
Islamic groups, for that would require material so ex-
tensive that it would double the size of this study and
obscure its central theme. The reader who wishes to do
so may have reference to a number of works, for example,
Edward Lane's remarkably detailed treatment of Egyptian
life in the nineteenth century, and one feels confident
that he will reach an identical conclusion, that the struc-
ture of the family in Rowandus is almost the same as that
found in similar towns in Egypt or Syria.[1] The departures
of Rowandus, for example, cutting the hair of the new head
of a dead man's household, are not large in number and are
wholly in detail. The usages of the townspeople seem to be 171
much less elaborate than those of, say, the inhabitants of 184
Egypt in the nineteenth century, but further investigation
in the Rowandus district which would take into account
the agricultural villages might reveal additional peculiarities.

[1]Lane, 1908.

It is believed that the displacement of the town's population during the first World War has acted to eliminate or submerge local differences which might once have been more striking. At the same time, however, the town, like the great city, levels off the divergent customs, such as that of tattooing, of the persons who migrate there from the countryside. 171 164

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA1 Kurd MA1
Jrkan MG1

daughter marriage serves to reinforce the political implication of the lineage system.

If this view is generally correct, one would expect to find high frequency of father's brother's daughter marriage associated with a developed lineage organization in the Middle East, and the frequencies to be appreciably lower in villages with a different type of organization. In the southern Kurdish area, this is clearly so: for other areas, the literature gives no conclusive evidence.

In the southern Kurdish feudally organized territory, neighboring on the above discussed Hamawand territory, the comparative picture might be summarized as follows: (1) The expressed norms are modified, though not basically changed. First rights of paternal cousins are not as strongly emphasized, and the ideal of equality between spouses tends to be interpreted in terms of village endogamy rather than with reference to descent group. (2) Brideprice is said to be lower for all categories of husbands, especially those of the local community (this holds true for the villages, not for the larger towns, where great variations in class and wealth intervene); some villages have made formal agreements that no brideprice should be charged within the village unit. An alternative and moderately popular way of avoiding brideprice is the sister exchange between two indifferently related men. (3) The actual frequency of father's brother's daughter marriage clearly drops, while village endogamy (in villages generally larger than those with a lineage organization) remains high. A complete census of marriages in one such non-tribal village may serve as an example:

Fa and Mo						
FaBrDa (amoza)	MoBrDa (khaloza)	SiDa (purza)	Other relative	Unrelated in village	Other village	Total
6	1	1	9	19	10	46

This picture would seem to be consistent with the views expressed above.

Hilma Granqvist[10] gives some comparable material from an Arab village in Palestine, where the local community is divided into patrilineal descent groups, called clans, apparently of a segmentary type; but where several of these descent groups reside together in a large village, and have no wide political or territorial importance. She offers the following frequencies of degrees of relationship between spouses in one village:[11]

10 Hilma Granqvist, *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village* (Helsingfors, 1931).
11 *Idem*, pp. 81, 92, 194-195.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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by Kurds, including the northern, mountainous part of the Mosul Vilayet. The idea was crystallized in Article 62 (delimitation of the area) and Article 64 of the Peace Treaty[5], which, however, was never ratified. At the final conclusion of peace at Lausanne in 1923, a shattered, mutilated Turkey no longer existed, but instead a strong young republic under Kemal Atatürk, and all idea of an autonomous Kurdish state was abandoned. The whole of the Mosul Vilayet with its rich oil fields around Kirkuk was placed under Iraq, which in 1922 was made a kingdom under Faisal I, the son of the Sharrif of Mecca, but still under British mandate until 1932. The frontier between Iraq and Turkey was fixed along the Brussels or Brantzig line[6] by negotiations between Turkey, Iraq and Great Britain at Ankara in 1926. The justifiably disappointed Kurds, who had seen their dream of an independent Kurdistan born at Sèvres and killed at Lausanne, had aired their feelings by repeated national revolts in Turkey[7], Iran[8] and in Iraq. Whereas the Mosul Vilayet was "disputed territory"[9], the British mandate government appointed Sheikh Mahmud (b. 1861, d. 1956)[10] *hakmdar* in Sulaimani, the provincial capital in the Sulaimani Liwa, with guaranteed subsidies. When he became too troublesome for the mandate government, proclaiming himself *malik*, king, of Kurdistan, he was replaced in 1919 by Major E. B. Soane[11], who as early as 1906 had accepted Islam and by his great knowledge of Kurdistan over many years was closely in touch with the Kurds. The first Kurdish paper[12] was started on Sept. 20th 1920, and at the same time Kurdish became for the first time the official language of the Administration. However, Soane was recalled to England in 1921 as his wish for an independent Kurdistan no longer conformed to the attitude created towards the end of the peace negotiations at Lausanne. Sheikh Mahmud was once more appointed, which resulted in revolts under his leadership in 1922-24, 1927 and in 1930-31, and under Achmad of Barzan in 1932. For the political development in these years see Longrigg and Stocker[13], and Edmonds[14].

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My personal impression of political conditions amongst the Kurds I lived with in 1957 can be summarized as follows: The Iraqi Kurds in a town like Sulaimani, the intellectual capital of Southern Kurdistan, look to the north, to Soviet Russia[15]. It was stated that the small group of Kurds living under the Soviet Union had better facilities to retain their lingual and cultural independence than the Kurds (about one million) in Arab Iraq. In Tashkent, for example, a Kurdish university was said to have been opened. Despite the fact that Beirut University in Lebanon had hitherto always been the place at which well-to-do young Kurds studied, and the Hoyboun Committee[16] still existed, the Kurds, whilst I was in Iraqi Kurdistan, looked to the north, to Communism, and hoped that their dream of an independent Kurdistan would some day be realized from that quarter.

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What has previously been written about Kurdish women comes from the pens of men. Having given the following description of the Arab women in Baghad: "... visions in dark blue with black masks, which slip about in little yellow boots, and which you are told are women," adding: "... in fact no better disguise than these hideous shrouds ... could have been invented by Oriental jealousy to snare away prying eyes and damp the spirit of libertinism ..."[17] Fraser, 1840, says concerning the Kurdish women that "... they do not wear veils like the Persian women, the utmost practised in this way being to bring the end of the handkerchief, with which their heads are covered, across their mouths

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Fig. 6. Urban milieu. Uneducated married woman and educated girl taking tea in the courtyard. Sulaimani.

The Kurdish women whose cultural pattern is to be considered below cannot, in my view, be grouped under the common denominator of "the Kurdish woman". Even on the basis of such relatively limited investigation material as was available to me, four different female environments can be pointed to, the cultural patterns of which vary very greatly. The first and most obvious division is that between village and provincial environment, but these two groups can be further subdivided, though on different principles.

The village milieu can be socially divided into two strata, the aristocracy and the peasants. To the former belong the sheikh homes in Topzawa, Shadala, Sargalu and Serkan. I visited peasant homes in Topzawa, Rikawa, Mirza Rustam and Balkha. The police official's house I dwelt in at the ferry town of Mirza Rustam was in between the two.

The provincial town environment (for the sake of simplicity called urban milieu) I first met with in the local Liwa capital, Sulaimani, but also in Kirkuk, Halabja, Tawella and Rowandiz. The women of this urban milieu could be sharply divided into two groups, the "educated" who had been given schooling, and the "uneducated" who, like the village women, could neither read nor write. These two groups of urban women could be met with in the same house, as was the case in the home of my interpreter, where the husband's two wives belonged to the "uneducated" group whilst the daughters had attended school and thus represented the other group. But even though these two groups of urban women were found within the same household their cultural patterns were quite different.

The part of Kurdistan I visited (Southern Kurdistan) is mountainous and lies in the northern subtropical zone. The year consists of a cool winter half year, with rain from November to April, and a hot, rainless summer from May to October. As an exception I experienced a violent shower on June 5th (1957). The villages lie on the sides of hills above the cultivated fields. The houses, for the most part built together in rows, lie in terraces above each other up the steep slope of the hill, so that the flat roof of the undermost house forms an open space outside the one above it. The communications consist of mountain tracks hedged by scrub and heaped-up stones, or the bottom of dried-out watercourses. No attempt has anywhere been made to level the ground. The watercourses and springs

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 10. Threshing by means of animals driven round the flatly-heaped corn. Topzawa.

wooden forks pitch the corn under the animal as it is gradually trodden aside out of reach. The second method employs a machine, *Jaujaw*, which can be called a threshing sleigh[43], threshing car[44] or threshing roller, as there is no English term which completely covers the function of the apparatus. It consists of two kidney-shaped side pieces joined above by a cross seat. Between the side pieces, which are studded with big brass nails giving the apparatus a superficial resemblance to an old-fashioned sleigh, two heavy wooden rollers are placed. These are covered by a series of inserted, fan-shaped iron blades whose edges are at right angles to each other[45]. These blades are so placed that the machine rests alternately upon a set whose edges run parallel to the rollers and then upon a set whose edges are at right angles to them. By its pressure and the efforts of the beasts harnessed to it, the threshing machine serves not only to extract the grain from the ears, which is also achieved when the animals are driven round alone on the corn heap, but the transverse iron blades at the same time cut up the straw into chaff.

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According to Hay[46] the use of a threshing machine is said to be an economic question, that is to say

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243 907 184 it can in general only be employed by the largest and wealthiest farms. Leach, on the other hand, distinguishes between "hill country style", where the animals alone tread out the grain[47] and "plains style" with the use of the threshing apparatus[48]. Fellberg makes geography govern the use in Luristan, as the threshing machine, which he calls "threshing cart", is used in the north, and animals alone in the south[49]. So far as could be determined within the area I studied in Southern Kurdistan, the difference in the methods employed was a question of both economy and terrain. In the fields belonging to Sheikh Tailfir, the owner of the village of Topzawa, animals alone were used on threshing floors situated at an altitude, whilst the horsedrawn threshing apparatus was preferred in the fields in the flatter country below. However, I did not observe the use of the threshing sleigh on the Sheitwar plain between Sulaimani and Halabja. After threshing the straw, grain and dust is thrown up against the wind which blows away the dust and lighter chaff, whilst the heavier grain falls back on the threshing floor[50]. The grain is further sifted by the aid of a sieve. The women assist at this work.

343 [251] The grain is stored at home in large, man-high silos of unburnt clay, *kamil* or *awak*, placed in a store room[51]. Two forms of silo exist[52]. The one is cylindrical, jar-shaped, standing on a low clay bench, and with large, round stones as lid. The top opening is covered by a flat stone. Below, at the side, there is another opening from which the grain can be extracted. The other type is rectangular, built up from the floor in a corner of the room. Both types are embellished by snake-shaped clay coils with finger prints on a pattern, the rectangular type also being decorated with small fragments of mirror-glass and china. According to Reich[53] this kind of decoration is considered to be a protection against the evil eye. It was said that the rectangular type was made or built up and decorated by the women of the house[54]. The jar-shaped examples are made elsewhere. The grain not used in the village is sewn into a sack of carpeting and taken on donkeys or mules to be sold in the towns. This is the men's job.

[140] 252 The grinding of grain takes place at water mills which I had no opportunity of examining. These mills lie by rivers and larger watercourses; see Leach[55] concerning their construction.

407 224 [102] The tobacco fields are ploughed in the middle of June. Ploughing is men's job but can be performed by women also. The plough, *fit*, has a plough-share, *gaisi*, of iron but no curved mouldboard. The sole and beam are in one piece. In the example (E. 2240) that was brought home, the sole and the lowest part of the beam is formed by a natural fork. At the lowest point of the beam a vertical steering bar with a handle, *kevjir*, is inserted. The beam is prolonged by a removable pole to facilitate transportation of the plough when dismantled. It can then be carried on the shoulders of one person or loaded on a donkey. In type the plough is a hue-plough, described by Glob as a "crook-ard"[56]. Wirth calls the type "Krümelpflug" and compares it with the Tripolchemos plough[57] known from Attic vases. Further, according to Wirth, it is linked with the north-Mesopotamian steppes, and he stresses as characteristic: "Sohle und Pflugbaum aus einem Stück"[58]. In this the Kurdish resembles the Danish ploughs of antiquity from Hvorslev and Vebberup, and differs from the Turkish plough type which, like the Danish Dostrup-plough, has sole and handle in one piece while the beam or drawbar is inserted in it. A plough like the Kurdish is depicted from Arabia by Niebuhr[59], who calls it "Plough with composite beam", concerning himself with the important fact that it can be dismantled and taken from patch to patch, an effective feature in view of the small fields owned by Kurds. The same point

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[177] wages from the work at the Dokan dam), wrist watches, sun-glasses, nail varnish, lighter, tooth brushes, tin-openers, and gramophone.

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342 [392] A quite small home in the village of Balkha has been chosen as an example of the lower rural life of the plain peasant woman. In it dwell a young couple and a daughter 5 years old. The house was neither built of natural stone with short horizontal beams, nor was it detached, being part of several houses joined together and intended for several families. It was so sited against a step slope that the building had two stories to the front, with the goat stable in the lower and the dwelling in the upper, to which there was direct access by a path from above. The roof was of the flat, chaparoned type with a base of poplar trunks. The upper storey consisted of only one room closed by a heavy wooden door, plus a loggia, the floor of which formed the roof to the goats' stable. The rear wall was of natural stone along the side of the mountain. The roof was supported by a single poplar trunk at the outermost corner of the goats' stable. During the summer, the sole room of the house was used [342] as a locked store room in which was kept the family's harvest of dried mulberries and what in family owned in the way of kitchen utensils and metal and wooden chests. In the hot weather the family lived on the roof, the loggia above the goats' stable. This loggia had a wall of brushwood at the extreme edge, with the result that, in front of the winter room, it was something between a loggia and deaf hut.

● [184] The clay roof was not only hard-packed and rolled but also glazed with a mixture of clay ad chalk, a Balkha peculiarity. This treatment of the roof had to be renewed each year and glazed anew every time water was spilt upon it. Glazing was women's work and was performed as team work, each [462] taking it in turn to help the other. There was absolutely no furniture in this milieu—life washed on [476] the floor, on the rug rolled out on the roof, and on the mattresses covered with flowered cotton placed along the wall which were used to sit on, the cylindrical pillows acting as back rests.Coon is [352] quite right when saying: "One can be just as comfortable and polite as dignified on the floors in the chair"[7]. Cooking and baking facilities consisted of a cooking pit in the rear corner of te loggia outside the door to the only room in the house. Here the cooking pots and the convex, circular iron sheet, *saj* or *tawa*, on which the bread sheets, *nān*, was baked were placed on the fire. Th outdoor [252] oar-shaped oven was not used here, close to the Iranian frontier. Water, with the possibility o washing the person, clothes and household utensils, was not found in the house or its immediate vicinity. Some [312] distance away among the terraced houses against the hill was a covered, cave-like washing place with common facilities for the women of the village. However, it was stated that the water came—not a spring of open stream—which fed this "wash house" was so impure that it could not be used in the household. Drinking water thus had to be fetched down in the valley—a climb of more tha half an hour—from a waterfall in a wood. Here a small basin had been made of natural stone there the women could wash themselves and their clothes when down to fetch water. The latrine in he house [364] was the goat stable. Churning was done with the churn sack suspended from a tripod. Acess to the roof, where one slept on mattresses devoid of sheets, was at night closed by leafy branchs, so that [513] neither the grey, long-haired sheep-dog nor cattle from the mountain track could find their way in.

4: Human E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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evening gown being worn by a Kurdish lady at afternoon tea. It is typical that Europeans dress enters the Islamic woman's world whilst the occasion for which it was designed is lacking.

The uneducated urban environment. In this milieu also the Islamic elements, face veil and head cloak, are the most important, obligatory outside the area of the home. Under this dress, and in the home, a costume is worn composed on exactly the same lines as that worn in the two village environments. As regards the material it is characterized by the use of both the velvet, silk and brocade of the village aristocracy and the cotton materials of the plain village women, in the uneducated urban environment mainly worn by the elderly. In this milieu, as in the two villages, the turban and its accessories are customary for the married women, whilst the unmarried only wears a head veil.

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Fig. 64. Ordinary peasant environment. Halabja.
Fig. 65. Uneducated urban environment. Sulaimani.

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Turkish women and the Armenian creatures with sprue, respectively. Kurdish female dress is most closely paralleled by the older form of Persian women's costume (cf. E. 1470). According to Bishop (1891, I, 316) the ladies costume in Persia has undergone a great change in the last ninety years, that is since about 1840. The later type of Persian female dress with narrow trousers and "ballet" skirt is a quite different type (cf. E. 2235).

The Lurs in Iran, visited and described by Pelliorg, have the same type of trousers-kirtle-coiffure costume, with a turban like the Kurdish, though the trousers are narrower and less visible than those of the Kurdish costume in Iraq (cf. Pelliorg 1952, 110, 121, figs. 111, 112, 114).

Elements of woman's dress and their distribution.

Groups	Elements	Village aristocracy		Nomad women		Educated urban		Uneducated urban	
		unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
I	Trousers, shift, kirtle, waistcoat, jacket, and coiffure	o	o	o	o	(o)	(o)	o	o
II	Cap, neck cloth, shoulder cloth, turban, and loose cloth		o		o		(o)		o
III	Head cloth	o	o	o	o	(o)	(o)	o	o
IV	Sash or belt	(o)	(o)	(o)	(o)	o	o	(o)	(o)
V	Footwear	(o)	o			o	o	(o)	(o)
VI	Face veil etc	(o)	(o)	(o)	(o)	o	o	o	o
VII	Cotton material			o	o			o	o
VIII	Silk, artificial silk, and brocade	o	o		(o)	o	o		
IX	Dress changes					o	o		
X	European garments					o	o		

o: The element appears consistently everywhere.
(o): The element appears sporadically.
I: Is used in all environments by both unmarried and married. However, is not constant in the educated urban milieu.
II: Is the head dress of the married women in all environments. Not constant in the educated urban milieu.
III: Is supplementary to the headdress of the married woman and constitutes the sole headdress of the unmarried girl. Not constant in the educated urban milieu.
IV: Only constant in the educated urban milieu.
V: Not constant in the village aristocratic milieu or in the uneducated urban milieu. Completely lacking in the humble village milieu.
VI: Street dress in the two urban environments and worn by village women when away from the village.
VII: Used mainly in the common village and uneducated urban environments.
VIII: Silk-brocade is characteristic of the village aristocracy and educated urban environments. Can on occasion be met with among married women in the humble village milieu.
IX-X: Dress changes characteristic of the educated urban milieu such as European frocks.

The birth of a girl in Kurdistan might cause a husband problem!

neighbours' presents, to initiate negotiations about one wife more[1], who would be able to bear him a son. Attempts were made to protect a male child against the evil eye by dressing it in girl's clothes[2], by sewing triangular amulet pockets onto its clothes, and by finding ornaments to tie hair and glass beads and buttons around the arms. These ornaments were blue, the colour that averts evil (see amulets).

Circumcision, an ancient Arab custom, is preserved in Islam, though not directly mentioned in the Coran. According to *Jaynboll*[3] the male child is circumcised on the 7th day, the 40th day, or not until the 7th year of life or on reaching puberty. According to *Shorter*[4], circumcision is performed on the 8th day of life at the same time as the naming ceremony. In the case of the Kurdish boys, it is said to be practised when they are about 3 days old.

Naming ceremony. In Southern Kurdistan the naming ceremony was said to take place on the child's 7th day of life. According to my interpreter, a mulla, sitting in a turkish position, took the child on his lap and whispered 7 times into its ear: "I call thee (name), son (daughter) of Hawa (Eve)". Examples of names for boys are: *'Arif, Hamid, Ja'far, Karim, Kemal, Mahmud, Majid, Muhammad, Qasim, Sa'id, Sandar, Wahid, Wahid*, and for girls: *Aja, 'Adya, Gulla, Mullka, Nahid, Nahida, Sahiba.*

In accordance with Oriental custom the Kurds have no surname[5]. In the case of men the addition of the title *Sayyid* or *Shaikh* existed. My host at the village of Topzawa was referred to by everybody, also by his wife, as "Shaikh" Taffir. In my experience the term *shaikh* was used in front of a man's name to describe a man of the village aristocracy belonging to the family that owned the village in question. For example there were *Shaikh Taffir* and his brother, usually called "*Mihtar-Effa*", but whose real name was *Mahd Qadir Shaikh 'Arif*, who owned the villages of Topzawa and Rakawa in consort. There was also a third brother, *Kihd Rid* (Elder brother R.) or *Shaikh Rid*, who owned the village of Sargalu. The eldest son of Shaikh Taffir was likewise addressed as *Shaikh Sandar*. Thus the word *shaikh* is not a designation for a descendant of the prophet, as maintained by *Barth*[6] and *Lentz*[7], both of whom confuse the term "Shaikh" with that of "Sayyid". In Kurdistan, I found that "Shaikh" stood for a member of a tribal ruling family[8] and also that, as maintained by *Leach*: "the name is however carried as an ordinary name"[9]. As regards the people I lived amongst the term carried with it no religious power or reputation of holiness[10].

Addresses like those, used in Arabia and Iran[11] "father to, slave of, son of . . . and so forth, are not used by the Kurds.

Women are addressed and referred to as "madame", (in my case Madame Hassa, not Madame Hassan). In addition—a peculiarity of the Kurds—the male title "Khan" could be added to the name of a distinguished woman[12]. My interpreter referred to and addressed her 3 year old sister as Bella Khan, called Shaikh Taffir's wife Na'ima Khan, and was herself referred to as Mullya Khan.

The kindergarten child. Analysis of the position of the child. As opposed to Christianity, Islam allows no place for the infant and small child, as it first recognises the child as a member of the community

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

when, at the age of 6–7, it has learnt in the Koran school the verses of the holy book and is able to take part in the daily religious exercises[49]. On the other hand the home, as I saw it in Southern Kurdistan, had a larger place for the child as a member of the community than is the case with us. Childhood was not a period separated from the adult age, but a preparation for it[50].

Just as the mother or one of the other women in the house found it natural to have the infant in her arms as soon as it was awake during the day, so she found it quite in order to have what we should call the "kindergarten child" at her heels all over the place, in many cases participating in the various daily tasks.

The "child at play" was an unknown phenomenon, and toys were practically non-existent. Compared with our Western education after the introduction of what is sometimes euphemistically called "the century of the child", it seems to me that we often keep our children out of the adult community, stressing the importance of the child's undisturbed playing age by toys, nurseries and so forth. Kurdish society was so arranged as also to include the child. At the various ages the child entered its definite place in the family hierarchy. It grew up well-trained in its coming duties, with an assured feeling of its position and what was expected of it. Without any sudden transition it glided into the ranks of the adults.

Rush in the case of guests and members of the family, including children, a very polite social convention prevailed, though this did not prevent excitable or noisy conduct. The ideal was a calm and dignified behaviour, and this also meant that one always took one's time. This made social intercourse extremely pleasant and apparently had a calming effect on the children. It may well be that the thoroughly cultivated manner was merely an outer form, but it helped to create a pleasant atmosphere in the home. All conversation took place in a calm and worthy way with numerous pauses. As Chiapp has already pointed out, the Oriental does not, like the European, regard it as good form to chat all the time[51]. The presence of the children was noticed remarkably little, even when there were many, because life in the home and their participation in the daily round provided a natural outlet for their energies. Many of the functions in the home which with us are performed by the water supply, gas, technical aids etc. necessitated with the Kurds human assistance which did not exceed the powers of children. Many of the attentions we consider a matter of course were replaced by the efforts of the young, just as the adults' mode of life and whole pattern of behaviour, the outward symptom of which is dignity, required the service that the children were able to provide. In individual cases this could result in misuse. I discovered that one lazy step-mother grossly misused and over-worked a 12 year old step-daughter. However, this was more due to ignorance as to what a child's strength could stand and how much sleep a growing child required than to ill-will. Life in Southern Kurdistan was hard for the adults also, child mortality dreadfully high. As in all communities at a medieval stage, only the best equipped survived. Medical assistance was rare, hygiene limited. The physical world in Southern Kurdistan was hard, but on the other hand the psychic climate was more clement than our's. Children were seldom treated angrily and I only experienced the hint of punishment. The children's participation in the activities of adults was apparently convenient with their natural impulses, and the company of grown-ups provided the children with so much entertainment and so many tasks that they prided themselves on performing, that conflict situations were confined to a minimum, and were not expressed in aggressions with subsequent punishment and the

293 562 [184] without a turban. At night it was removed with the cap. The neck-shoulder veil was worn by all married women in the three of the four female environments. On the other hand it had lost its position in the dress of the educated urban woman, whether she was wearing a European dress or the most modern town-style Kurdish costume.

[155A] *The head veil of* light material, gauze or voile was, in the case of a married woman, laid over the cap and turban as an extra. During prayer it was tied around the neck and head. This round of night as the same way, it replaced all other head covering. For an unmarried girl it was her sole headgear day and night. A 12 year old girl, the step-daughter in the sheikh's house at Tuqaswa, put on the veil as an experiment, which suggested that her age would shortly make it necessary for her to begin to wear it. This is the head cloth or veil to which Lane refers in regard to the Arabs in Egypt[1]. Within the village aristocracy it was mainly white. The humble village woman in Tuqaswa and Rakawa favoured white or turquoise while old women were black, joining the two upper corners together by a knot at the neck, having crossed them under the chin, so that the veil lay around the head like a hood. Certain villages were characterized by head veils of uniform colour: in the new flooded furry hamlet of Mirna Rastawa all were black and in Sergalu bright red.

293 576 562 In the two urban milieus the women of the house never went up the ladder to the roof or sundown to arrange the bedding without the head veil, or a piece of material that resembled it, over the head; this applied to both adults and adolescents and even if the young and educated were wearing European summer dresses. Although my interpreter belonged to the educated urban milieu, she could not enter the guest room in her own home to greet Kurdish visitors who had come to talk to me, or bring a guest tea, without this head veil around head and neck. In the family circle and women's apartments women lowered themselves with the head veil if a man entered. An educated teacher grabbed a chance head veil, covering herself with it at great speed when a man, newly-married into the family, came into the room. Although he was married to a half-sister of the young woman's brother's wife he must not see her head uncovered. Even in the village of Sarkan my interpreter picked up the first veil she saw and threw it over her head when the master of the house, the old sheikh, came in to bid us welcome. Visiting her home a week after the wedding, a young educated woman wore a head veil in her father's presence (see p. 133). When her brother-in-law paid a first visit to her own home she also retained the head veil, although on that occasion she was wearing a short-skirted, armless European summer frock. The uneducated town women wore the head veil day and night.

369 The head veil was thus a general feature in the two female village environments and in the uneducated urban milieu. The veil was used sporadically in the educated urban milieu when a man's presence made this necessary, whether or not the woman was wearing Kurdish costume. European dress, it is true, revealed her legs to the knees and her arms to the shoulders, but the head still had to be covered.

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293 562 *The yellow-white "bridal"* veil I saw worn on two occasions, both in a humble village milieu, when witnessing the arrival of the bride at the bridal house, in the one case walking the last stretch (Tuqaswa) and in the other riding on a white mare (Rakawa). The veil was so placed, over the married woman's

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

563 The migrations and shiftings of the Assyrian (Christian) population consequent upon the various massacres and persecutions that have taken place since the War have had important repercussions on the economics of the area. The Assyrian groups were formerly widely distributed among the Kurdish villages, mostly in a region North West from area A.[1] Despite special pleading by Wigram and others it would appear that, apart from the religious differentiation, there was formerly little ethnic or cultural difference between Assyrian and Kurd. Under present conditions the differentiation is much more marked. Persecution and the patronage of over-sympathetic European Christians has had the double effect that those Assyrians who are now left in the region are on the one hand congregated into tightly isolated colonies, and on the other are rapidly adopting a high degree of western sophistication with its accompanying technical advantages. One such Assyrian colony exists at Bates, and appears to be achieving considerable prosperity through the scientific development of tobacco cultivation. This success is likely to have consequences for neighbouring Kurdish groups.

101 We distinguish area B therefore by the mildness of its climate; its comparative fertility; and the looseness of the tribal organisation as now existing.

[102] C. Plains area. Geographically this area differs completely from the other two. Largely flat, completely treeless, with a minimal rainfall, and scorched cinder dry for four or five months of every year, it would seem to be no place for the hillsman. But the soil is one of the richest in the world. It forms part of the great "fertile crescent" so beloved of archaeological historians, and has yielded a vast annual crop of wheat and barley for literally thousands of years.
172 Historically the area formed part of the great Assyrian and Hittite empires and the number of archaeological remains is sufficient evidence of its economic and political importance in ancient times. Today the
162 population consists of two distinct cultural groups: nomadic and semi-
525 settled Arabs intrusive from the South and permanently settled Kurds
174 with distinct Turkish and Armenian groups in the towns. According to May (p. 77) the penetration of the Kurds southwards into the Erbil plain is a comparatively recent historical event. He holds that the area was formerly occupied by nomadic Arab groups who have been ousted by the recent expansion of the Dizai tribe. The evidence for this
101 view seems to me doubtful. In any case, whatever the historical facts,
• 189 the techniques and economic arrangements of the plains Kurds now differ so markedly from the hill groups that in most respects they must be treated as a separate culture group. Politically also they differ from the hill Kurds in that the present village chiefs (Aghas) are mostly of quite different lineage to their followers, so that the organisation tends to be feudal rather than tribal. I had supposed at first that this was a very recent development but similar conditions are described by May writing in 1920.

1 [See map, cat. 116, p. 71 -- Dialyst].

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

The Nomads. In addition to the permanent settled inhabitants of the three areas here discussed there are certain nomadic groups who move seasonally from one area to another and even out of the district altogether. These nomads are again in many respects a distinct cultural group; their economy is based exclusively on pastoralism as opposed to the pastoral-agriculturalism of the settled peoples. The largest of the nomad tribes are the Berki. They are normally resident in Persia near the southernmost end of Lake Urmia. These high altitudes cannot provide sufficient fodder for their herds throughout the year and during the late autumn the bulk of the tribe migrates down the Rowanduz river and spreads out through the foothills (Area B) and the northern fringe of the plains. They return to Persia with the melting of the snows in the late spring. I have no first hand evidence concerning these people and the second hand evidence appears to be both fabulous and contradictory. There is reason to think that their tribal organisation at the present time functions more perfectly than that of the settled groups, presumably owing to less government interference. They possess definite grazing rights in certain areas, even in districts nominally under the control of settled groups* though in other areas they pay some sort of rental for the right to herd their flocks. Their migration is linked with important trade activities. They bring salt with them from Persia to Iraq, and take back wheat and barley. Wool is disposed of on the Erbil market as well as large numbers of their livestock. The duty-free import of salt is of course strictly illegal but is winked at by the authorities. It was reported in the summer of 1938 that the Persian authorities intended to compel the Berki to adopt a settled habitat. It is thus unlikely that it will ever be possible to determine the precise position of this group in the political and economic organisation of the Kurdish area as a whole.

In my field work I stayed nearly all the time in villages occupied by members of the Suran and Balik tribes (see Map 2).

*The Iraq government authorities are able to carry on all negotiations with the Berki through the agency of a single paramount Agha, this despite the fact that the tribe itself scatters into small family groups throughout a very wide area; this seems to imply a high degree of tribal integration. During the summer of 1938 a law case was proceeding between the Agha paramount of the Berki and Jamil Agha of Bahrika (Gerdi tribe) as to whether the former need pay any rent to the latter for the grazing rights of what appeared to be Gerdi land. Jamil Agha complained to me bitterly that the Berki seemed likely to win their case owing to their greater wealth and resources for corruption. The case however establishes the point that they might claim traditional grazing rights in land seemingly within the sphere of influence of permanently settled groups.

by detribalised Kurds from the Sulaimani area. Similar industrial developments further north would provide a labour market for the Kurds of the Erbil liwa. Notoriously the cheapest labour is that which is least organised. Once again the analogy with South African developments is very close.

Economic relations within the Village

The previous section dealt primarily with the economic relationships between the village group and the outside world, and the way in which changes in the form of this external contact may be expected to effect the basic economic organisation of village life. It is now necessary to consider the same set of phenomena from the point of view of the individual rather than of the village group as a whole.

In general the motives for exchange within the village group are to be regarded as social rather than economic. The system of cultivation by family groups rather than individuals ensures that there is no great differentiation of economic status as between different communers, and trading contacts within the group are scarcely necessary.

Crafts

An exception to this is the case of the weaver who occupies a specialist position by virtue of his trade. It should be noted that carding and spinning are not specialist occupations. For the most part the wool is prepared and spun independently by the women of each household. The material is then worked up into cloth by the weaver in return for payment either in cash or kind.*

Another individual sometimes occupying a specialist position is the herdsman. Both in Balash and Dergala the whole flock of goats and sheep was in charge of a single individual who apparently lived permanently in the open with his charges. It was explained to me that the goatherd was not a member of the village but a stranger, the various families whose flocks he tended contributing jointly to his support. Though the flocks are thus herded together there is no suggestion of 'joint ownership', each man knows his own stock; this fact being amply demonstrated at milking time every morning and evening when the women folk go out to the grazing and pick out their own particular property. In other villages conditions are rather different. For instance the Shevdini of Rayat have large herds, and as stated already part of the community separates off during the summer to form an independent hoba, which tends to the cattle exclusively. I have no

* This idealises the existing conditions. It is valid for Dergala but some of the other villagers now have no weaver of their own. The men still nearly all wear Kurdish cloth, but the spinning and weaving is largely concentrated in Rowanduz and Erbil.

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463 information as to how many individuals go with the cattle or what is their relationship with those that stay behind to get in the harvest.

463 There are few other specialist occupations. Rug making is a
183 specialist accomplishment of some of the women but the quantities produced are of no economic importance. Other crafts are chiefly in the hands of travelling experts who wander from village to village equipped with the tools of their craft and work up the materials offered to them by their clients. One may name for instance the felt maker, the carpenter, the tinker and the builder. It must be emphasised that these people are not dealers but craftsmen. The felt maker works up the wool provided by the villager; the villager must provide the wood before the carpenter can make a fork for him. The capital of such craftsmen can therefore be very small and the return for their work is little more than their keep and travelling expenses.

Traders

463 Quite distinct from these are the various traders who provide
493 the contact between the village and the outside world. These are best classified by their Kurdish names - miacafrusch, atar and bazargan. The miacafrusch are primarily travelling fruit dealers, their trade is of a local nature and entirely on a barter basis. They provide contact as between one part of the tribal area and another. Thus when I was in Walash a dealer arrived with fruit from Rust which he traded for small quantities of wheat and tobacco.

The atar may best be described as a travelling pedlar. He deals in such items as matches, needles, cigarette papers, spices, kerosene, thread, sugar, tea and coffee - in fact he fulfils the functions of the general village store. His terms are partly barter and partly cash. He can however only deal in small quantities - an Agha such as Sheikh Mohammad would always send in direct to Rowanduz for his sugar rather than purchase it through an atar. Occasionally the atar is permanently established in a single village. A shopkeeper of this sort is known as dukandar; among the villages I visited, shops of this sort only existed in the smuggling centre of Khalan.

463 The bazargan maintain permanent shops in the towns such as
493 Rowanduz and Erbil and only send travellers out to the villages. They
462 deal only in the superior categories of goods, - cloth, calico, tea, coffee, sugar, - so that their principal clients are the Aghas. For the most part they are Jews or Armenians. They do not trade for barter but gain their trade by offering elastic terms of credit. It is worth noting that usury seems to be excluded; a debt of £5 incurred today is still a debt of £5 if settled in 3 years time. Presumably to allow for this, the prices are quite extortionate. The development of this system of credit trading is, I think, quite new for this part of Kurdistan. It seems likely in due course to lead to the bankruptcy

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J. C. A. Johnson

An increasing majority of the Kurds are now 'settled', but sections of some tribes, among them the Jaf, are still entirely nomadic. A powerful chief of the Jaf with ten of his sons

[51 a]